1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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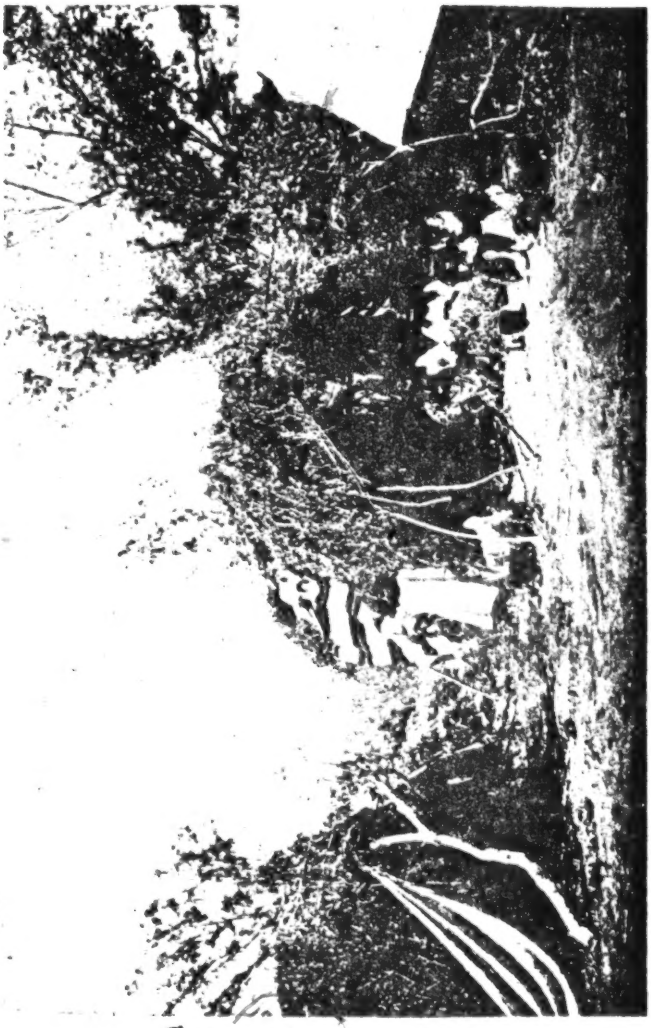

PLATE I

CHIRICAHUA CAMP

United States National Museum

[Frontispiece]
[Facing Title Page - p. v]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

852 The minutiae of the ceremonies differ, but a composite de-
302 scription, distilled from some half-dozen separate accounts, re-
756 duces to the following elements. Pollen from cattail or from one
788 of a number of other sources is applied to the cheeks and head of the child four times and scattered clockwise to the cardinal directions. Then his hair, with the exception of one or more locks, is closely cropped. Meanwhile the shaman prays for his long life and good health. The shaman may cut off a lock of his own and mix it with the shorn hair, saying, "May this child's hair be as thick as mine." The hair is usually placed in a fruit-bearing tree with this prayer, "May many seasons come and the child live long." The pollen on the child's face is not removed but is allowed to wear away. Each boy and girl should undergo this ceremony at least once. Ideally, the rite should be repeated for four successive springs, with the same individual officiating.

862 It is about this time that weaning takes place. Gradually, as
[853] teeth appear, the child is introduced to light foods so "it will not be so hungry and demand the nipple so much." Sometimes the baby is simply forced away from the breast and given to understand that he must henceforth depend on other food. More often something sour or peppery, like chili, is put on the nipples. The child is told that the milk "is this way now" and rapidly loses interest in nursing.

SURROUNDINGS

596 The household into which the child is born is one of a cluster
621 of elementary families related through the maternal line. Near
361 an older man and woman reside their unmarried sons and daughters, their married daughters and the sons-in-law, their daughters' daughters (married and unmarried), and their daughters' unmarried sons. The number of separate dwellings varies according to the size of the group and the ages and marital status of the individuals involved. Each daughter, upon marriage, occupies a
[591] separate dwelling with her husband. Ordinarily, an unmarried son lives in his parents' household, but an adult unmarried son might have his own adjoining dwelling.

596 It is with the members of this maternal extended family that

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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Chiricahua

534 177 [24] The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not necessarily connected with ritual, a one-stringed violin (probably inspired by European models), and more infrequently a flute.

• 361 621 [602] The elaborate system of affinal avoidances makes it expedient to allow some space between the home of the man who joins the encampment and those of his wife's relatives. Therefore, a distance of two or three hundred paces may separate two dwellings. Each family is afforded privacy, yet relatives and neighbors are near enough in case of danger. The comparative independence of each home is further safeguarded by the nature of the country, by natural barriers which often conceal one dwelling from the next, even though the distance which separates them is not great.

[721] [312] Because these people raid surrounding groups as a regular course, they have reason to fear retaliation and therefore seek to conceal their habitations as much as possible. Desirable locations must be near enough to streams and springs to insure an adequate water supply and close to the highlands so that foes can be led into a fruitless and wearying search through the hills.

361 484 221 [433] [538] The possessions, the materials from which they are made, and the uses which they imply make it plain that the food economy is based on the wild animals and plants of the region and that the people must be ready to follow a seasonal food quest and to remove to a new locality when it becomes apparent that hunting or gathering is more rewarding there. A popular folk tale, explicable in terms of this life, tells how a man becomes separated from the members of his family and seeks to rejoin them, passing camp site after camp site which they have abandoned, until he finally overtakes them. Other accounts describe the frequent movements of the people, with those who have no horses carrying their goods and their children.

361 621 596 [433] [571] Sometimes a single household goes off alone on an economic errand and even remains by itself for some time. But, ordinarily, the extended family breaks camp and moves as a body. It can, therefore, be called the smallest unit prepared to maintain a separate economic existence for any length of time. Thus, even in the midst of the nomadic phase of his life, the most significant social bonds remain undisturbed for the individual.

Despite constant movement, population tends to concentrate

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

at points advantageous for defense or economy, and the people who live in one vicinity are known by a name referring to the natural feature which marks the area. Often the members of the extended families concerned are, or become, loosely affiliated through intermarriage, but the bonds between them need not be more than those stemming from proximity of residence and the common local name. These extended families which recognize some natural feature as their home or base and share a common name which attests to this can be referred to collectively as a local group. The extended families of a local group may be separated from each other by some distance. A ridge or a mountain spur may intervene, or one camp cluster may be on one side of the mountain which acts as their common locus while a second extended family inhabits the other side. Nevertheless, all are within relatively easy reach of one another and can be quickly contacted for social, military, or religious events. Normally, the contacts afforded by the three segments which have been outlined—the elementary family, the extended family, and the local group—monopolize the experiences of the first years of the child.

EARLY TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

The rearing and training of children are among the most serious of adult preoccupations. Supernatural help is sometimes sought for these purposes. Though the guidance received from his relatives is criticized if a child grows up to be worthless, he is not exempt from effort of his own. In the training process the child's co-operation is necessary, and an interest in the fundamentals of the folkways is deemed an essential step to informed adulthood.

The child grows into the meanings of his culture gradually and not without amusing misinterpretations. One informant recalled his first sight of the masked dancers. Noting that they wore kilts, he asked a man who stood near by if they were women and was abashed to receive a negative answer. No other explanation was offered, and he was too shy to inquire further. It was some time before he began to understand the character of these dance groups.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The visitors build temporary camps to the south, west, and north of the space reserved for the ceremonial tepee. A long lane to the east must be left unobstructed.

At the beginning of the ceremony, custody of the girl will pass into the hands of the attendant and the singer. But before this the girl is reminded by her parents of the seriousness of her role and is advised to be obedient and cheerful. However, these ideals are not always attained.

> Some of the girls are bashful. They have a time with them! They had a time with them in the old days too; I've heard stories about it. Some girls had to be whipped before they'd go through with it. Some of them got scolded before everyone. . . . . They talk to her, tell her to be good, but the girl gets mean sometimes.

The exact manner of deciding when the ceremony shall begin is subject to some variation. According to one account, the proper starting-point should fall four days after the onset of menstruation. Most informants agree that the rite may begin "when everything is ready." Some see a tendency for the group in charge to set the time for fall, "when food is plentiful," although theoretically the ceremony may occur any time of the year.

Before sunrise of the first day the girl washes her hair in yucca-root suds. Then she presents herself before the attendant, either at a special shelter erected for her care or at the home of the older woman.

> The attendant first puts pollen on the girl's head and face and across the bridge of her nose before anything starts the first morning. Then the woman prays over her that she may advance to good womanhood. From then on her womanhood begins. No man is allowed to go in there at this time.
>
> Then the woman arranges the girl's hair and dresses her, beginning with the right moccasin, then the left, and continuing up to the head. She ties two eagle feathers at the back of the girl's head. The girl always faces the sunrise while this is being done. The woman prays for the girl while she is dressing her, and some even sing if they have songs and the girl wants them sung. The men do not say much about this dressing. This is the woman's part, and men are not supposed to say much about it. When the girl is all dressed, it is all right for a man to see her. After the dressing you have to call the girl "White Painted Woman."
>
> The girl must not eat anything up to now. Then, the first day, when the girl

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

601 192 224 606 for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

601 602 192 [606] It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

584 602 606 From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoidance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

606 602 [591] [585] 606 591 264 596 602 [361] A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

593 264 606 [196] The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

has to be made if the family is to live near "friends." All that can be said is that residence in one place rather than in another may be determined by the presence there of a family with which friendly connections have been established through marriage. 621 602 591

The presence of his own kin in the same local group where he lives with his affinities assures the newly married man of the perpetuation of a good many past ties, as an understanding of the relations between the extended family and the local group suggests. 602 621

The local group is a cluster of encampments in one general locality. It is a division of the larger group, the band. The people in it all camp around some well-known spot from which the local group gets its name. Those who camp around Mora Mountain are called "People of Mora Mountain." This refers to all the people living together in this region. But within the local group there would be other divisions. All would not live at one place. Some would camp on one side of the mountain, some would camp on the other. Others might camp at any favorable spot near water. These smaller groups or camps are decided along relationship lines. That is, all the relatives and those who marry into a certain family live together. 621 596 361 [101]

These smaller units, the extended families, are referred to by means of the leading men in them. Thus, we speak of N.'s encampment, C.'s encampment. The local group is not a relationship group strictly, but the extended family does consist of relatives. If a person asks, "Who are you? To what people do you belong?" you give the name of your band. But if someone asks where you live, you say that you are one of a certain local group. 621 596 101

The local group tie is essentially one of residence and may be severed summarily: 621 602

The children are usually members of the local group to which the mother belongs, because a man is supposed to live near and work for his wife's people. When a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his direct affiliation with the first local group is over. He is now related by marriage to people in the second local group. But he has relatives in the first one, and in case of trouble or divorce he would go back there. 591

Further characteristics of the local group are summarized in this explanation: 621 596

The local group consists of a number of extended families living near some prominent family, that is, living around some family who has a good leader. This leader would be expected to lead the men of the local group when they go on a raid or engage in war. But each extended family has its own place to store food. And whenever a girl's puberty rite takes place, people outside the local group come too. 591 [554] [251] [881] [619]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

231 to four stout poles which are sunk into the ground. Inside, near the top, are perches on which the eaglets may rest.

An Eastern Chiricahua band leader had three eagles in one house. Then another was built. There were two in there. The little eagles used to go out and come back. They ate lungs. They fought like dogs. When they had had enough to eat, they went to the top. Eagles that are raised are never killed. After they have pulled the feathers off, they let them go.

One other informant recalled having seen eagles in captivity but sharply reduced the size of the cage employed from that pictured in the preceding account. The practice of capturing eaglets alive and raising them must be quite rare, however, for a number of other elderly commentators denied knowledge of it. One man explicitly stated: "We didn't keep eagles in a cage. Many were afraid of them and wouldn't touch them. We couldn't raise [361] them. We were moving all the time, staying three days or so in one place. That's why we stored our goods in cave caches."

226 262 It is possible that some individuals of the Southern Chiricahua band or members of some of its local groups make an attempt to secure fish and eat them:

My people eat fish. There was a certain river in Mexico where my people came. There they would lift rocks in the water and shoot the fish they found [252] there with arrows. When they were traveling they just put the fish on the coals and broiled them. They also used to boil them in water. They ate fish eggs, but they ate no shell fish at all.

Another informant, an Eastern Chiricahua who lived close to the Rio Grande, explained that those with whom he lived fished whenever they could and ate any kind of fish.

262 It may be, therefore, that the dislike of fish reported by many informants is to be correlated with unfamiliarity with this kind of food and the distance from any possible supply. The intensity of the repugnance and the willingness of many to equate the fish with the snake, suggest something stronger than mere unfamili- [177] arity, however. It is more likely that the Southwestern taboo on fish was beginning to influence the Chiricahua markedly and that the alleged similarity between the fish and the snake afforded a convenient rationalization.

In an attempt to explain why his people made so little use of fish a Chiricahua acquaintance said: